UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3208
6 May 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 6 May 1993, at 5.50 p.m.

President:	Mr. VORONTSOV	(Russian Federation)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Ms. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the Security Council.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Office of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

93-85786 0174V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 5.50 p.m.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF SRI LANKA

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): It is with great sorrow that the members of the Security Council have learned of the tragic death on Saturday, 1 May 1993, of the President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, His Excellency Mr. Ranasinghe Premadasa. President Premadasa was deeply committed to the ideals of the United Nations and the cause of world peace. His loss will be deeply mourned by the international community. On behalf of the Security Council, I wish to express profound condolences to the Government and the people of Sri Lanka and heartfelt sympathy to the bereaved family.

I now invite members of the Council to stand and observe a minute of silence.

The members of the Council observed a minute of silence.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of May, I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute, on behalf of the Council, to Mr. Jamsheed K. A. Marker, Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of April 1993. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Marker for the great diplomatic skill and unfailing courtesy with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

REPORT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL MISSION ESTABLISHED PURSUANT TO RESOLUTION 819 (1993) (S/25700)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Security Council mission established pursuant to resolution 819 (1993), document S/25700. Members of the Council also have before them document S/25722, which contains the text of a draft resolution which was prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/25710, letter dated 30 April 1993 from the Chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/25714, letter dated 30 April 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/25718, S/25728 and S/25730, letters dated 4 and 5 May respectively, from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council have also received photocopies of a letter dated 6 May 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, which will be issued as document S/25731.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): I should like to extend to you, Sir, the congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. My delegation also wholeheartedly endorses the compliments you addressed to Ambassador Marker, our President last month.

The draft resolution before us today is intended to convey the feelings and concern of our Council in the face of what must be considered a further deterioration in the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and a growing threat to the security of the civilian populations in a number of communities, particularly in the eastern part of the country. True, the information at our disposal is fragmentary, but the Council's concern is heightened by the fact that the military observers whom the United Nations Protection Force tried to send to Zepa to gain an overview of the situation were prevented from reaching their destination.

In requesting all the parties concerned henceforth to treat the cities of Zepa, Gorazde, Tuzla, Bihac and Sarajevo as safe areas, free from armed attacks and from any other hostile acts likely to endanger the well-being and the safety of their inhabitants, the Security Council intends first and foremost to send the clearest and most humanitarian signal to the fighting parties: The civilian populations must no longer be made to bear the consequences of the Bosnian conflict. In that regard, the example of the city of Srebrenica has given us valuable experience by showing us both the limits and advantages arising from the establishment of a safe area. The most important thing is protection, to save the human lives seriously threatened by the extension of the conflict.

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

France, heavily represented at the military level in Bosnia and Herzegovina under United Nations auspices, is already fulfilling its duty to protect the safe areas in the Bihac region and in Sarajevo itself. I should like to make an urgent appeal to the United Nations Member States that are parties to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe - major guarantors of international peace and security - to contribute as soon as possible to assuming and protecting other safe areas. Their participation in this humanitarian mission would be an increased guarantee of protection for the unfortunate civilian populations of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose lives we all wish to save and whose hardships we all wish to lighten.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of France for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now put the draft resolution contained in document S/25722 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 824 (1993).

I shall call now on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mrs. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): Let me congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council in what clearly promises to be another very eventful month.

I also offer our deepest thanks to the representative of Pakistan, who brilliantly carried out the very difficult job of President during the month of April.

We had hoped to be able to vote in the Council today on a draft resolution that would at long last have begun the long road back to peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Instead we have voted on a resolution to halt Serbian aggression. Once again the Bosnian Serb leadership has thumbed its nose at the values that everyone in this room holds dear. As United States Secretary of State Christopher said in Brussels earlier today, the decision of the

(Mrs. Albright, United States)

so-called Bosnian Serb parliament has made a mockery of the signatures in Athens. We are not inclined to invest the proposed referendum with legitimacy, as it appears to be another cynical ploy to delay while the Bosnian Serbs continue to roll up additional territory. As a result, our focus will continue to be on the new, stronger measures on which President Clinton has decided.

I ask my fellow Council members to reflect briefly on the irony of what has transpired over the past week. On Sunday in Athens the self-styled leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, signed the remaining portions of the Vance-Owen agreements. He conditioned his signature, however, on the approval of the so-called Bosnian Serb parliament. This unelected group of dubious characters declined to ratify the agreements, instead calling for them to be put to a referendum at some point later this month.

We are thus faced with the self-declared parliament of a self-declared leader stating that it needs the agreement of the "people" to stop the killing for which they are themselves to blame. We have not doubt that those responsible for war crimes will be allowed to participate in the referendum if it ever occurs. We doubt, however, that those who have been forced from their homes at gunpoint will be allowed to participate. We know that those who now enjoy the peace of the grave will not participate. This is not democracy in action; this is simply a ruse to buy time for further territorial conquest.

Let us be honest: the current resolution is a palliative. The only solution is for the Bosnian Serbs to agree to peace, to live in tolerance of their neighbours and to give up for judgement those who have plunged their country into war and fouled the good name of the Serbian people. Let me remind the Bosnian Serb leadership that my Government has in recent days made

(Mrs. Albright, United States)

it clear that we are consulting with our allies about new, stronger and tougher measures. Their implementation, or lack thereof, of this and all other relevant Council resolutions in the next days will determine whether we and the rest of the international community decide that the use of force is inevitable.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words she addressed to me.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): Let me welcome your accession to the Chair, Sir, and congratulate Ambassador Marker on the remarkable work he did last month, the successes he chalked up, and the way in which he led our work, which was really splendid.

I should like to make a very few remarks. In the first of them, I would like to salute the men and officers of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), and particularly the Canadian troops, as well as the officials of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other agencies, who have helped give effect to Security Council resolution 819 (1993), which set up a safe area at Srebrenica. They have worked under truly appalling conditions, and they have achieved what they have achieved against all the odds. I think we owe them a great debt for that.

It is really deplorable that we are here again today confronted with attacks against civilian population centres - population centres which are very frequently crowded with refugees - and that these attacks are being carried out by the Bosnian Serbs in many different parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, some of which are listed in the resolution the Council has just adopted. This is being done in complete disregard for the professed desire to seek peace.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

If the Bosnian Serbs have any wish at all to be considered sincere in their desire for peace, they will heed the terms of today's resolution. If they do not heed those terms, they will sacrifice and forfeit any sympathy whatsoever.

From a wider point of view, my Government deplores, and expresses its deep regret at, the failure of the Bosnian Serbs last night to endorse the agreements reached at Athens and signed by their representative. This act of folly cannot be justified. But we believe that this Council should not take no for an answer. We must now keep up the pressure by all means to get back on the path to peace, which is represented by the plan and the process into which so much effort has gone on the part of the representatives of the Secretary-General and of the European Community.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): Allow me to begin by extending my delegation's congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We are confident that under your distinguished, experienced and able leadership the Council will adopt well-considered and effective measures on many of the important issues with which it is confronted.

I would also wish to associate my delegation with the profound condolences expressed by you, Sir, on behalf of the Council, on the tragic demise of President Premadasa of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. We share the grief of the family of President Premadasa and of the people of Sri Lanka at their tragic bereavement.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

My delegation is pleased at the unanimous adoption of resolution 824 (1993). We are deeply concerned at the escalation in armed hostilities by the Bosnian Serbs against several towns in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are particularly alarmed at the mounting Serbian armed attacks on civilian populations in many threatened areas, in particular the towns of Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zepa and Goradze and their surrounding areas. We believe that the adoption of the present resolution declaring these threatened areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina as safe areas will go a long way to ensuring the safety of civilian populations in these regions.

The international community is witnessing escalating defiance of its will by the Bosnian Serbs. In total disregard of the mandatory resolutions of the Security Council, the Bosnian Serbs have persisted in their repulsive policy of "ethnic cleansing" and genocide. The time has come for the Council to act rapidly and firmly to compel the Serbian side to accept the Vance-Owen peace plan.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

We believe that the Security Council must take immediate appropriate measures, including the authorization of the use of force under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, to ensure: the placing of all heavy weapons in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under effective international physical control or neutralizing them to render them inoperative; the interdiction of all arms supplies to the Bosnian Serbs; the institution of appropriate measures for reparations for the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Serbia and Montenegro; that Serbia and Montenegro is liable, under international law, for any direct loss or damage, including environmental damage, or injury to foreign Governments, nationals and corporations as a result of its aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina; and the effective imposition of a complete and comprehensive economic and financial blockade against Serbia and Montenegro.

We also believe that States Members of the United Nations should extend their cooperation to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the exercise of its inherent right of individual and collective self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, including the supply of arms to enable them to defend themselves.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Pakistan for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): As this is the first time that my delegation has spoken this month, we should like to express to you, Sir, our congratulations and our admiration for the job that you are doing. I should also like to join you, Mr. President, and other delegations in expressing thanks to our outgoing President, Ambassador Marker of Pakistan.

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

The delegation of Spain not only joined in the adoption of the resolution but also considers this resolution extremely timely and important. The situation continues to deteriorate in various areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, requiring, in our opinion, determined action by the United Nations in order to protect the civilian population of those towns and areas that are currently most exposed to the consequences of the armed conflict.

We are indebted to the mission sent by the Security Council - coordinated by Ambassador Arria of Venezuela and composed of representatives of Russia, France, Hungary, New Zealand and Pakistan - for the detailed report on the general situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and, more specifically, on those regions and towns most affected. The report also includes recommendations on the establishment of safe areas, which requires the cooperation of the parties. In addition, the cooperation of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) is anticipated within its mission of humanitarian protection.

This task - protecting individuals threatened by the conflict - has been a priority at all times, but now more so than ever. This can no longer suffice, however. We must go further in order to bring peace to the entire Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to put an end to the threat to that entire region. For that reason, we are convinced that we must, come what may, put into effect the peace plan developed as a result of the great efforts by Mr. Owen and Mr. Vance and, now, with the cooperation of Mr. Stoltenberg and with the support of the European Community and the United Nations.

We would like to point out that this resolution - as the text itself states, both in the preamble and in the operative part - falls within the framework of what has been provided for in the peace plan. That is to say, it is not a question of finding an alternative way, but of anticipating certain

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

aspects of the implementation of the peace plan along the lines laid down by the Security Council and with the use of UNPROFOR and the other means made available by the United Nations Secretariat.

We are convinced that it will be necessary to keep up the pressure, especially on the Bosnian Serbs, without ruling out other measures in the coming days and weeks, in order to ensure that the Bosnian Serbs will ratify the signature of the peace plan. This has not been confirmed, but confirmation must be explicitly made. In particular, the various provisions of the peace plan must be implemented fully and in good faith.

In conclusion, the Government of Spain wishes to emphasize the need for unanimity among the members of the international community in the difficult course of action that lies ahead of us. The Security Council has set an example today by acting swiftly and unanimously. We hope that in the coming days - tomorrow if necessary - we will continue in the same spirit and with the same unanimity.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Spain for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. ERDOS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council, and I should also like to thank Ambassador Marker for the outstanding work he did during the previous month.

Hungary voted in favour of resolution 824 (1993) on safe areas because this resolution underlines, with a force that everyone can see, the concern of the Security Council and the international community with regard to the fate of the towns and areas that have been threatened and besieged in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This resolution also reaffirms the inadmissibility

(Mr. Erdos, Hungary)

of any acquisition of territory by force. Hungary believes that the resolution we have just adopted can be seen, on the one hand, as part of the process of implementation of the Vance-Owen plan, a plan whose implementation is still our basic objective, and, on the other, as a follow-up on the preventive diplomacy efforts which are of crucial importance in today's world.

We hope that the towns and villages mentioned in the resolution - Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zepa, Gorazde and other areas - will not meet the same fate as so many other cities and villages in Bosnia and Herzegovina and will be saved from destruction and "ethnic cleansing". In the light of the alarming news coming to us from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and especially from Zepa, the Council must constantly remain on guard and must remain prepared, if need be, to consider immediately the necessary steps to ensure implementation of resolution 824 (1993).

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Hungary for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. ARRIA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): I am very pleased to join in the congratulations that have been extended to you, Sir, by my colleagues. My delegation will remain at your disposal throughout this month, which is beginning to look like a very complex one indeed. We should like to reiterate our admiration and respect to Ambassador Marker of Pakistan and to his delegation for the extraordinary leadership they provided this past April.

My country is a friend of Sri Lanka, and we would also like to join in the expressions of sympathy that have been offered to the family of the President and the people of that country.

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

Venezuela had the privilege to act as coordinator of the mission sent by the Security Council to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina on 28 April. In this light we are especially pleased that the report submitted by our mission to the Council has been incorporated into this resolution and that today the Council has begun to act on some of its recommendations, in particular those pertaining to the declaration of safe areas.

The resolution just adopted is akin to resolution 819 (1993), which declared the city of Srebrenica a safe area. By its timeliness, that resolution prevented the massacre of the people of Srebrenica, who have lived and suffered under siege for more than a year. Today's resolution is aimed at anticipating the same kind of extreme situation as that experienced by the people of Srebrenica, where conditions still do not exist for it to be considered a safe area, as was the intention of the Security Council.

Today I can affirm that, after our visit, the city of Srebrenica remains a sort of open jail, subjected to the effective control of Serbian paramilitary forces, which keep it at their mercy, controlling and obstructing the provision of essential services such as water, electricity and medical attention. In this regard we reiterate - lest it be forgotten - that these acts constitute crimes of genocide for which, some day, those responsible will have to answer.

Only the presence in Srebrenica of the noble and brave Canadian battalion separates its people from greater tragedy. My delegation once again voices appreciation for that battalion and the personnel of the United Nations Protection Force, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Committee of the Red Cross, who in the most perilous conditions are making extraordinary efforts in that long-suffering community.

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

The information coming out of UNHCR indicates that disease in Srebrenica - a city that we have designated a safe area - continues to spread, especially among its children, in what our report refers to as a "slow-motion process of genocide". (S/25700, para. 19)

Without the slightest doubt, the situation in these cities, under attack and siege by Serbian paramilitary forces for a year, casts a shadow on the political will and credibility of this Council. Today we have limited ourselves to a political and moral declaration centred on humanitarian aspects.

There seems, however, to be no doubt that the international community still faces even greater challenges and provocations that will demand farther-reaching action than what the Security Council is today able to adopt and, above all, implement. Nor is there any doubt that the Council will have to exert every possible effort to make all of the former Yugoslavia a safe area.

This is the responsibility of the international community, and especially of the permanent members of the Security Council, which are called upon to contribute extraordinary efforts and resources and, of course, enormous sacrifices for a solution to this horrible conflict. According to our Charter, that is the reponsibility of the great nations, whose actions are especially appreciated and valued by my delegation.

We, the non-permanent members of the Security Council, in solidarity with the cause of countries such as the former Yugoslavia, whose rights have been so dreadfully trampled on, support the full implementation of this Council's decisions.

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

Finally, we wish - as Ambassador Madeline Albright, representative of the United States, said so aptly - that we were meeting today to adopt a resolution to start the implementation of a peace plan; but the Serbian party's intolerance and its disrespect for the international community has once again stood in the way.

It is clear that it is now up to the international community to make the appropriate response to this decision.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Venezuela for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. O'BRIEN (New Zealand): Congratulations, Mr. President, on assuming the helm of this Council. I am confident that this ship is in good hands this month. My heartiest congratulations go also to my neighbour, the Permanent Representative of Pakistan, who conducted the Council's deliberations with exemplary distinction last month.

As others have remarked, this resolution has its origins in the mission that the Security Council sent to Bosnia 10 days ago. The decision we have taken here illustrates, I think, the usefulness of such missions, which give the Council some better insight into the complexity and challenge that confront our Organization in the area of former Yugoslavia in these times. New Zealand was privileged to be represented on the mission.

However, the measures endorsed in this resolution are in no sense a complete answer to the suffering and outrageous acts that are occurring, especially, but not only, in eastern Bosnia. They are intended, none the less, to send a direct, unambiguous political message: that the well-being and safety of populations in the regions concerned are and will remain a legitimate concern of the Council. New Zealand calls upon the Bosnian Serbs

(Mr. O'Brien, New Zealand)

to take very careful heed of the present decisions of the Council and to implement and observe the safe areas forthwith in the places enumerated in the resolution.

This resolution is one which we expect will stand alongside other decisions that the Council will take shortly in response to the outcome of the Athens meeting of last weekend and the totally unacceptable and cynical reaction to the outcome of that meeting by the Bosnian Serbs. The Council must not now relent in its pursuit of peace and stability in Bosnia.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of New Zealand for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the Russian Federation.

The Russian Federation is deeply concerned over reports of continuing hostilities in various parts of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The report of the Security Council mission that recently visited that Republic sheds further light on the tragic situation that has come about there, especially in the humanitarian sphere. The report clearly shows that the continuing cruel war has brought untold suffering to the civilian population of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Russian leaders have repeatedly said that there is no alternative to the Vance-Owen plan and have pointed out that any party to the conflict that does not adopt it bears heavy responsibility for not doing so. I should like to recall the statement of the President of the Russian Federation, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, on 27 April of this year, which emphasized that,

(The President)

"Russia will not condone those who defy the world community. The Serbian nationalists and any other parties to the conflict relying on force will meet with the stern rebuff of the United Nations."

We proceed from the premise that now, after the talks in Athens, there should be no further obstacles to the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan. If this plan is not adopted and carried out, we are prepared to discuss further, harsher steps. In this connection, no steps have been pre-determined, nor have any been excluded from discussion.

(The President)

In the present circumstances, an end must be put immediately to any attempts to attain further territorial gains by military force, to any actions that result in suffering for the Bosnian people and in violations of humanitarian law. The Security Council must send a clear signal to all the parties to the Bosnian conflict that such activities are inadmissible.

In this connection, we believe that the decisions adopted by the Security Council on Srebrenica have turned out to be positive steps that have saved the lives of hundreds of Bosnians.

The Russian Federation, on the basis of its policy of principle in this regard, supports the creation of additional safe areas in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In fact, that is why we voted in favour of the draft resolution in document S/25722. We believe that the creation of safe areas, with the presence there of United Nations personnel, will help to improve the humanitarian situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to achieve a peaceful settlement in that long-suffering country.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no other names on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.

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S/PV.3209
10 May 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 10 May 1993, at 10 a.m.

President:	Mr. VORONTSOV	(Russian Federation)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. DORANI
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. KHAN
	Spain	Mr. GARRIGUES
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WALKER
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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93-85804 4403V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.35 a.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

ELECTION OF A MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE (S/25657, S/25726 AND S/25727)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like to recall that at its 3170th meeting, on 4 February 1993, the Security Council adopted resolution 805 (1993), by which it decided that the election to fill the vacancy in the International Court of Justice should take place on 10 May 1993 at a meeting of the Security Council and at a meeting of the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session.

This morning the Security Council and the General Assembly will proceed independently with the election, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Statute of the Court, for the purpose of filling this vacancy. The list of candidates nominated by national groups and received by the Secretary-General as of 4 May 1993, the deadline for receipt of nominations, is contained in document S/25726.

I have just been informed by the Secretary-General that Mr. Krzysztof Skubiszewski does not wish to be considered as a candidate for membership in the International Court of Justice. The name of Mr. Skubiszewski has therefore been deleted from the ballot paper.

Document S/25727 contains the curriculum vitae of the remaining candidate.

(The President)

The Security Council also has before it a memorandum by the Secretary-General in document S/25657, describing the present composition of the Court and setting out the procedure to be followed in the conduct of the election.

I should like to remind the Council that under Article 10, paragraph 1, of the Statute of the International Court of Justice,

> "Those candidates who obtain an absolute majority of votes in the General Assembly and in the Security Council shall be considered as elected".

The required majority in the Security Council is eight votes.

Article 15 of the Statute of the Court provides that

> "A member of the Court elected to replace a member whose term of office has not expired shall hold office for the remainder of his predecessor's term".

Accordingly, the member elected to serve the remainder of the term left vacant by the death of Judge Manfred Lachs will serve until 5 February 1994.

The voting will be by secret ballot. When we proceed to the vote, members of the Council will receive a ballot paper containing the name of the candidate. Members of the Council are requested to place an "X" next to the name of the candidate for whom they wish to vote. Votes may be cast only for a candidate whose name appears on the ballot paper, and each elector may vote for only one candidate; otherwise the ballot will be considered invalid. When a candidate has obtained the required majority, I shall notify the President of the General Assembly of the name of that candidate, and I shall request the

(The President)

Council to remain in session pending the receipt from the President of the General Assembly of the result of the voting in the Assembly.

I shall now draw lots to select two delegations to serve as tellers.

* * *

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): Brazil and Venezuela have been drawn. I therefore request each of them to appoint one member of its delegation to serve as teller.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bitelli (Brazil) and Miss Trujillo (Venezuela) acted as tellers.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): May I take it that the Council is now ready to proceed with the election to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge Lachs?

It is so decided.

I shall ask the Conference Officer to distribute the ballot papers. Members of the Council should place an "X" in the box next to the name of the candidate for whom they wish to vote.

* * *

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I take it that all the members of the Council have now voted, and I ask the Conference Officer to collect the ballot papers.

All the ballot papers have been collected. I should like to remind the Council that, as we agreed during our consultations, the ballots will not be

(The President)

counted until it has been verified that the ballot papers in the General Assembly have been collected.

The Council will remain in session pending the receipt of that information.

* * *

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I have now been informed that the ballot papers have been collected in the General Assembly. The counting of the ballots in the Security Council will now begin. The tellers will now count the ballots. As agreed in our consultations, there will be two independent counts of the ballots - one by each teller.

* * *

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	15
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	15
Required majority:	8
Number of votes obtained:	
Mr. Géza Herczegh (Hungary)	15

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): Mr. Herczegh has accordingly received the required majority of votes in the Security Council. I shall communicate the result of the vote to the President of the General Assembly in writing. I request the Council to remain in session while we wait for the President of the General Assembly to inform the Council of the result of the voting in the Assembly.

* * *

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have just received from the President of the General Assembly the following letter:

"I have the honour to inform you that at the 103rd plenary meeting of the General Assembly, held today for the purpose of electing one member of the International Court of Justice, the following candidate obtained an absolute majority of votes in the General Assembly:

Mr. Géza Herczegh."

As the Security Council and the General Assembly have agreed on the same candidate, the distinguished jurist Mr. Géza Herczegh of Hungary has been elected a member of the International Court of Justice for a term of office expiring on 5 February 1994.

I should like to congratulate him and wish him every success in the high office to which he has been elected. I should also like to thank the tellers for their assistance.

The Security Council has thus concluded its business for this meeting.

The meeting rose at 11.10 a.m.

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3210
10 May 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND TENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 10 May 1993, at 7.10 p.m.

President:	Mr. VORONTSOV	(Russian Federation)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. ZHANG Yan
	Djibouti	Mr. DORANI
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. KHAN
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. HICKS
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the Security Council.

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93-85816 4420V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 7.10 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council. It includes a number of revisions, agreed upon by Council members, to the draft text now before members.

(The President)

"The Security Council, recalling its statement of 21 April 1993 (S/25646) concerning the atrocities and killings in areas north and west of Sarajevo, expresses its grave concern at the major new military offensive launched by Bosnian Croat paramilitary units in the areas of Mostar, Jablanica and Dreznica.

"The Security Council strongly condemns this major military offensive launched by Bosnian Croat paramilitary units which is totally inconsistent with the signature of the Peace Plan by the Bosnian Croat party, for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Council demands that the attacks against the areas of Mostar, Jablanica and Dreznica cease forthwith; that Bosnian Croat paramilitary units withdraw immediately from the area and that all the parties strictly comply with their previous commitments as well as the cease-fire agreed to today between the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian Croat party.

"The Security Council also expresses its deep concern that the UNPROFOR battalion in the area has been forced under fire to redeploy as a result of this latest offensive and condemns the refusal of the Bosnian Croat paramilitary units to allow the presence of United Nations military observers, in particular in the city of Mostar.

"The Security Council once again reiterates its demand that UNPROFOR personnel be allowed unimpeded access throughout the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and, in this particular case, demands that the Bosnian Croat paramilitary units ensure the safety and security of UNPROFOR as

(The President)

well as all United Nations personnel in the areas of Mostar, Jablanica and Dreznica. In this connection, the Council expresses its deep concern at the increasing hostile attitude of Bosnian Croat paramilitary units towards UNPROFOR personnel.

"The Security Council calls upon the Republic of Croatia, in accordance with the commitments under the Zagreb agreement of 25 April 1993 (S/25659), to exert all its influence on the Bosnian Croat leadership and paramilitary units with a view to ceasing immediately their attacks particularly in the areas of Mostar, Jablanica and Dreznica. It further calls on the Republic of Croatia to adhere strictly to its obligations under Security Council resolution 752 (1992), including putting an end to all forms of interference and respecting the territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"The Security Council once again reaffirms the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the unacceptability of the acquisition of territory by force and the practice of 'ethnic cleansing'.

"The Security Council remains seized of the matter and is ready to consider further measures to ensure that all parties and others concerned abide by their commitments and fully respect relevant Council decisions".

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/25746.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3211
11 May 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED AND ELEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Tuesday, 11 May 1993, at 4 p.m.

President:	Mr. VORONTSOV	(Russian Federation)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. BUDAI
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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93-85822 4428V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 4.55 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN CYPRUS

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS OPERATION IN CYPRUS (S/25492)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus; this report is contained in document S/25492.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25693, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/25647, which contains the text of a letter dated 21 April 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

(The President)

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

I shall now make a statement as representative of the Russian Federation.

On many occasions, the Russian delegation has stated its position on the question of the financing of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP).

Sharing the concern of the Secretary-General and of a number of members of the Security Council, and also of States that contribute military contingents, in connection with the difficult situation of UNFICYP, we believe first and foremost in the need for the speedy achievement of a settlement to the Cyprus problem. We believe that it is particularly important right now to focus full attention on bringing the Cypriot parties to compromise solutions to the complex problems involved in a settlement to the Cyprus problem during the next round of inter-communal negotiations beginning on 24 May 1993. We are ready, furthermore, to go on seeking ways to ensure a link between the continuation of the United Nations operation in Cyprus and the intensification of the process of a political settlement.

However, we continue to have fundamental objections to the changes that have been proposed in the basis for financing the Force. We do not consider it timely to extend mandatory financing to this operation, which up to now has been entirely paid for on a voluntary basis.

The Russian delegation pays due tribute to the efforts of the sponsor of the draft resolution to reflect in the new plan for financing the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus the principle that the expenditures for the Force should be covered by the parties involved. But we should not like to create a precedent of full rejection in United Nations practice of the principle of voluntary financing of peace-keeping operations. We have

(The President)

already been forced to agree with the difficult decisions on the shift to mandatory contributions by Members States of the United Nations for the operation in Somalia and also for the United Nations Protection Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina. With the adoption of the decision proposed today for UNFICYP, there would be no operations left that would be paid for on a voluntary basis. We cannot agree with that.

Based on those views, and in accordance with the instructions received from the Government, the delegation of the Russian Federation will be forced to vote against the draft resolution contained in document S/25693. We wish once again to emphasize that Russia's position on this issue has no political basis of any kind. This position is dictated solely by practical considerations of the Government of the Russian Federation concerning the ways to develop further the expanding United Nations peace-keeping operations and concerning approaches to financing the expenditures for such operations, which also are expanding. In our view, voluntary contributions must have not a decreasing but an increasing role.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/25693.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

Against: Russian Federation

The PRESIDENT (spoke in Russian): The result of the voting is as follows: 14 in favour, one against and no abstentions. The draft resolution has not been adopted, owing to the negative vote of a permanent member of the Security Council.

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements after the voting.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): This is far from being the first occasion on which the Secretary-General has proposed to the Council that the financing of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) be put on assessed contributions rather than the voluntary contributions from which it has been financed since an obscure cold-war quarrel prevented the normal pattern of financing from being agreed when the Force was established some 29 years ago. But on each previous occasion this has been discussed by the Council, the argument for assessed contributions was the argument of equity. This is a powerful argument, but, regrettably it did not win the day. It really is hard to justify that the burden of financing this peace-keeping Force should fall on the troop contributors and others prepared to volunteer and should not, like every other United Nations peace-keeping operation, be financed by the whole membership. The Secretary-General has again and again made this point, and my Government has invariably supported him.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

But on this occasion, the issue has come to the Council not simply on the basis of equity, although the inequity of the present arrangements becomes heavier to bear with every year they last, but on the basis of necessity. The Secretary-General has warned us that as successive troop contributors continue to withdraw and one of the few remaining important troop contributors begins to pull out in a few weeks, the Force will, by mid-June, find itself unable to fulfil the mandate it has been given by this Council.

So if the Council was not to turn its back on the peace-keeping operation in Cyprus, it was clearly necessary to take a decision about the financing, given the clear evidence that the Force can no longer be sustained on the basis of voluntary contributions alone. That is the reason my delegation has brought this draft resolution before the Council and asked for a decision today. There have been long and careful negotiations designed to meet the concerns of all members of the Council. It would have been the height of irresponsibility to fail to bring the draft resolution to a decision point now, given the closeness of the moment at which the Force will cease to be viable and capable of carrying out its mandate.

My Government finds the decision by the Russian Federation to vote against this draft resolution both regrettable and disproportionate. It is regrettable because it puts in jeopardy the whole of the United Nations peace-keeping operation in Cyprus and thus, potentially, also the Secretary-General's good-offices mission, designed to bring a solution to the problems of the island. It is also regrettable because the decision the draft resolution put before the Council in no sense raised any major issues of principle. And the vote against is, in our view, quite disproportionate,

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

given the extremely modest financial implications for the Russian Federation now that, thanks to the generosity of the Governments of Cyprus and Greece, such a substantial proportion of the expenses of this operation are to continue to be covered by voluntary contributions. On the basis of the United Nations budget estimate of a cost of $47.4 million a year for UNFICYP, of which $25 million will be voluntary contributions from Greece and Cyprus, the maximum to be paid by assessed contributions would be $22.4 million, which requires an annual contribution from the Russian Federation of $1.9 million. That compares with Russian assessed contributions to the United Nations Protection Force of $73.7 million over the last year and a half, to the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNISOM II) of $25.6 million for the initial two-month period only and to the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) of $11.9 million for seven months.

The Russian Federation has voted for all three of these operations within the last three months, as has my delegation. Moreover, there is no question of the present draft resolution switching from voluntary contributions to fully assessed financing. Even if this draft resolution had been adopted, UNFICYP would remain the United Nations peace-keeping operation with by far the highest proportion of voluntary financing - over 50 per cent.

In these circumstances, my Government appeals to the Russian Federation to reconsider the decision it has taken today and to agree to put the financing of UNFICYP on to a sound basis on the lines proposed by the Secretary-General.

My Government has been associated actively in supporting United Nations peace-keeping in Cyprus and in supporting the efforts of successive

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

Secretary-Generals in their peacemaking efforts, and we have been so associated from the very beginning. We hope we shall be able to continue to do so despite the pressing difficulties, but it would be foolish to deny that today's vote is a serious setback for these operations. Let us hope it is not a long-lived one.

Mrs. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): We believe strongly that the presence of an effective peace-keeping force in Cyprus is an important element in maintaining an atmosphere conducive to the success of the United Nations-sponsored negotiations between the Cypriot parties. Accordingly, we regret the Russian Federation's veto and believe that discussions on finding a means for maintaining a stable force in Cyprus need urgently to continue.

In considering funding for the United Nations Force in Cyprus, the United States Government attempted to determine whether funding through voluntary contributions remained a viable option for maintaining an effective force. Our discussions with other Governments led us to conclude, as did the Secretary-General, that it did not.

Because of the importance of maintaining an effective United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) and the apparent lack of alternative methods to do so, the United States Government supported this draft resolution. We had hoped that all other delegations would support it as well.

Nevertheless, the United States Government understands and shares some of the concerns that have been expressed by the Russian Federation over the broader question of peace-keeping financing. The Russian veto has raised a question about the financing of an ever-increasing and more expensive peace-keeping burden. The inequalities in the existing peace-keeping assessment scale are beginning to call into question our ability to carry out the work of the United Nations. We are coming to the day when countries in

(Mrs. Albright, United States)

need will dial the global 911 and get a busy signal. The time has come for us to take up this issue in a serious way to find urgent solutions in the context of "An Agenda for Peace".

In this regard, two elements of the UNFICYP discussion that has taken place merit greater attention and broader application. First, we believe that, when able to do so, countries whose interests are most served by a peace-keeping operation should make substantial contributions towards its costs. Accordingly, we welcomed the offers of significantly increased voluntary financial contributions to UNFICYP from the Governments of Cyprus and Greece. These contributions would have reduced substantially the assessments of other United Nations Member States. We expected that the continuation of these voluntary contributions in the future would have ensured that there was no increase in assessments.

Secondly, we supported the implication of this resolution that the Council was no longer prepared to accept open-ended peace-keeping commitments which are not linked to the resolution of disputes. No operation should continue indefinitely. In this case, we must ensure that the presence of a United Nations force remains a stimulus for concluding a settlement and does not become a factor that simply perpetuates the status quo.

As we review our options on UNFICYP and renew the mandate of other peace-keeping forces in the future, we should keep these two principles firmly in mind.

Having said that, we still believe that the presence of an effective peace-keeping force in Cyprus is an important element in maintaining an atmosphere conducive to the success of the United Nations-sponsored negotiations between the Cypriot parties.

Mr. ARRIA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): The Russian Federation's veto of the draft resolution on the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) is unquestionably significant not necessarily because of the reasons behind it - which in our view, and as the President has noted, deserve the support of the Security Council - but most particularly because of its symbolism as an arbitrary, anachronistic and anti-democratic element: the veto. At San Francisco, that privilege was severely criticized by the representatives of many countries which signed the Charter. Today, the reasons put forward at that time for preserving the veto are less valid than ever, as evidenced by the fact that the veto was used today for basically financial reasons, as Ambassador Vorontsov, current President of the Council, has himself said.

The veto was first criticized in 1945. The then Foreign Minister of Australia, Herbert Evatt, called it an absurd imposition. But not until April 1947 was the elimination of the veto considered even by the United States Congress, owing to the Soviet Union's position on United Nations assistance programmes for Greece and Turkey - coincidentally in the same area of the world that we are discussing today, though obviously for very different reasons.

In that same year the representative of my country said that Venezuela firmly upheld the principle of the sovereign equality of all nations, which was not compatible with the privilege granted to the permanent members of the Security Council under Article 27 of the Charter. He said that this matter affected the prestige of the United Nations.

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

From 1653 there was a law in Poland known as liberum veto; this gave an individual the power to block legislation in the Polish parliament. Only one member had to speak the Latin words for "I do not permit it" for any measure to be vetoed. Incredibly, the law was in force for more than 200 years. Poland revoked it some 150 years ago but, even more incredibly, such a rule and privilege continue to exist here in the Security Council of the United Nations.

Speaking before the General Assembly in 1991, my country's President, Mr. Carlos Andrés Pérez, stated his concern on this matter and said that the Security Council should be a representative body and that a single member should not have the power to deny the feeling of the majority of the United Nations. At that time, the President of Venezuela proposed, and we reiterate the proposal today, that a committee of experts should be established to study a new basis for the organization and functioning of the Security Council. The countries that today enjoy the privilege of the veto would continue to be permanent members of the Council; their number could even be expanded. Decisions relating to collective security would require at least the qualified vote of Council members so as to reflect the general will of the international community.

We are concerned that this decision could affect the ongoing negotiating process, recently reactivated under the leadership of the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali. We deplore this decision, as it will certainly entail political costs that the parties to the dispute would have been spared had it not been for the existence of the arbitrary privilege of the veto. Today, it was the financial aspect of a peace-keeping operation that was

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

vetoed, for whatever reason; tomorrow, it could be a matter of great significance for international peace and security. We must thus express our rejection of the use of the veto - today and tomorrow alike.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): My delegation supported draft resolution S/25693 in order to take note of the progress that had been made, and so as not to block the consensus that seemed to be emerging on the text. We regret that negotiations over the past week, despite the spirit of compromise on the part of all, could not overcome the remaining objections of some.

In our view, however, the Council's inability to adopt the draft resolution does not mean the end of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP); it only means that the text requires further improvement and that additional consultations are needed to reach, within a reasonable time, a solution acceptable to all.

I think it important to welcome the generous gestures made by the Governments of Cyprus and Greece, which reflected their sense of responsibility and their concern to take in hand one of the elements of their security. Those additional efforts will merit specific mention when the Council sets about redefining the structure of UNFICYP, for voluntary contributions supplemented by the assessed contributions of Members are clearly an essential element for maintaining the Force.

I have no doubt that our task would be facilitated even further if manifestations of political courage and imagination showed the Council that the parties had the intention of speedily tackling the political solution of their disputes if the parties displayed an indisputable will for

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

reconciliation. European States members of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Council of Europe would then have to define as a priority objective the application of the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes to which they have committed themselves; this would permit the United Nations Force very quickly to become a observer force with the mandate of overseeing the implementation of confidence-building measures and the reconciliation process.

Mr. BUDAI (Hungary): The delegation of Hungary truly regrets that the Security Council was unable to adopt the draft resolution contained in document S/25693. For several years now the Council has been functioning on the basis of close cooperation among its members, and particularly on the basis of close cooperation among the permanent members. Reflecting the new realities in the world, the concurring votes of the permanent members, as envisaged in Article 27 of the Charter have made the functioning of the Council more effective than ever before in its history. We sincerely hope that today's events will in no way create a precedent and that they will not hinder the Council's fulfilment of its responsibilities in the future.

My delegation considers the role of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) important and critical for the maintenance of tranquillity on the island while the negotiations between the parties, through the renewed mediation efforts of the Secretary-General, reach a new and significant crossroads. The transfer of UNFICYP's financing to a sound basis, involving sacrifices from each and every Member of the Organization, serves exactly that purpose, that is to say, to keep alive an operation so vital to the security and safety of the Cypriot people on both sides of the green line.

(Mr. Budai, Hungary)

At this juncture, let me express our hope that the fate of UNFICYP has not been decided at this meeting, and that consultations will continue with a view to finding adequate and acceptable solutions to the issues involved in this matter.

Mr. O'BRIEN (New Zealand): New Zealand was among the early contributors to United Nations peace-keeping in Cyprus in the mid-1960s. It was hard then to foresee that the operation would still be in place nearly 30 years later, but it is deeply regrettable to witness today the exercise of the veto which prevents a decision that was reasonable, logical and practical in the draft resolution for which New Zealand voted.

While New Zealand welcomes the voluntary contributions made to Cyprus peace-keeping in the past, and the promised contributions in the future, New Zealand believes that support for peace-keeping is, at the end of the day, the responsibility of all United Nations Members.

New Zealand fully backs the efforts being made towards a resolution of the political situation, and in this regard supports the forthcoming round of talks that the Secretary-General will be holding later this month with the parties in New York. These must be pursued.

As a fellow island State and a Commonwealth member, New Zealand looks forward to an early durable solution in Cyprus, one that means the United Nations peace-keeping operation is no longer required, and we take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the many Blue Helmets who have been deployed in Cyprus over the years in the quest for a lasting peace. They deserve better from this Council than today's unfortunate decision. And the vote, moreover, sends a wholly discordant message as the United Nations stands on the threshold of other vitally important peace-keeping operation decisions.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The Chinese delegation voted for the draft resolution because it believes that it reflects the principle of diversity of the financing of the United Nations

(Mr. Li Zhaoxing, China)

peace-keeping operations. We sincerely hope that in the United Nations peace-keeping operations in the future this principle will be reflected.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.